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Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 46 November 17, 1961 Section I — News

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The Big Blow: Actually, there were three blows inflicting angry wounds in the so-called "upset" victory for the Democrat in New Jersey.

(Capitol Hill pros discount the Democratic jubilations over the Garden State result. Kennedy "desperately" wanted a "prestige" victory; his wind machines made it their lead story to obscure the GOP upsurges in Pennsylvania, Ohio, upstate New York and in many cities, where Republican "seed corn" has been sown to blossom next year in the key congressional elections.)

But the blows . . . New Jersey constituted a blow to Nelson Rockefeller's pretensions, because his propaganda apparatus had built him up as a "Big Brother" to the state across the border. Now the Albany megaphones can't persuasively picture the Modern Republican as irresistible in the East.

A more telling "bone-crusher" was what Capitol Hill now calls "the defeat of Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey." Case had persuaded Mitchell to run, then got him nominated, and finally was confident he had his man elected. If he had, Case was prepared to assume the role of "boss" not only of the GOP in the Garden State, but of the whole state itself. The "Republican" Senator from that state, whose voting record is "far left," can now function only as a Republican captive of the Jersey Democratic Administration.

But the biggest "thud" of all was the fall of Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, "The man who can handle and get support of Labor" (that is, the Labor bosses). This idea dies with Mitchell who is now politically interred.

For Mitchell courted the union halls to get the nomination, thought he had their support, but finally discovered that they always come down the stretch behind any Democratic "Lib-lab." In a way, the Democrats conferred a favor on the GOP when they taught the latter another lesson from the now well-worn textbook of "How Not to Get Elected."

The lesson will be better assimilated—say the pros—if the Republicans (Gettysburg papers please copy) examine the New Jersey returns and note that what happened (what gave the margin of 38,500 to the Democrats) was not the appearance in New Jersey of President Kennedy, but the statistical fact that Republican conservatives sat on their hands. New Jersey Democratic pros became aware of this development weeks ago. That is why they deemed it safe for President Kennedy to go into the state and lay his prestige on the line in behalf of Mitchell's opponent, Richard J. Hughes.

Three big and normally Republican counties, commuter havens, tell the tale: Monmouth gave a 30,000 majority to the Republican in the '58 senatorial election; last week this margin dropped to 12,000; Union County's GOP bulge dropped from 38,700 in '60 to 5,700 last week; and in the suburban parts of Essex, it dropped from 37,000 to 30,000. In short, the image of the liberal Mitchell could not bring some 60,000 Republicans to the polls for a clear victory, even when the magical Eisenhower intervened personally.

The big blow—and the lesson—should be clear. Meanwhile, many GOP pros are delighted with the "defeat."

Goldwater's Future: The Senator from Arizona returned last week after a prolonged vacation abroad to find a very challenging situation, in respect to himself and his party.

He finds himself by far and away the preference of the party professionals over Rockefeller and Richard Nixon (all the more so, in view of the defeat of liberal Republican Mitchell). Nixon has abdicated his place as an aspirant for the crown in 1964. The HUMAN EVENTS poll (see issue of November 3) recorded the preferences of more than half the delegates and alternates to the 1960 Republican National Convention, showing Goldwater with 53 per cent, Nixon 30 per cent and Rockefeller far in the rear with 17 per cent.

Today, Capitol Hill believes that this 53 *per cent rating of the Arizonan is an understatement as of this date; that, if the poll were taken again this week, Goldwater would rate perhaps* 60 *per cent.*

All pros agree that when the first poll was taken early in October many of those polled had not yet accepted as final Nixon's statement of withdrawal from the 1964 Presidential race. These skeptics now realize he meant what he said (witness GOP Chairman Miller's official acceptance of Nixon's withdrawal). Hence, it is believed that many of

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those who early in October voted for Nixon have shifted by now: the majority to Goldwater, a minority to Rockefeller.

Despite a Gallup organization claim that Rockefeller has a big lead over Goldwater among the GOP rank and file and among "Democrats and independents," the GOP pros in Washington think otherwise. They know that labor-liberal politicians privately acknowledge that actually Goldwater would be more likely to tap the "Democratic and independent" vote than Rockefeller. And they know the weaknesses of the Gallup polling apparatus. (For particulars, see "Will Gallup Put Rocky Over?," an article by James L. Wick in Section IV of this issue.)

In short, Senator Goldwater is confronted with the situation of being way in the lead as the Presidential preference of his party as of today. Whether he remains in this advanced position depends on whether he organizes the impressive support among pros, rank-and-filers and grass roots that he has attracted in the past 18 months. Many pros on Capitol Hill maintain that what he needs is a political adviser to consolidate his gains and to push forward his flag.

Already, speculation in the Capital runs to this effect: such a political adviser might well be none other than Leonard Hall, former GOP Chairman under Ike.

Hall is known to have favored Nixon for '64 in recent months, at least until Nixon's very recent retirement from the national race. Perhaps the latter event has left Hall "at liberty." Few who know Hall's mind believe that he would even consider organizing for Rocky. The alternative is Goldwater, whom he is said to admire very much.

Lesson for Rocky: Although obscured by the Wagner "victory" in the New York City election, one statistic has riveted the attention of political experts (presumably including those in Albany on Governor Rockefeller's payroll). It pertains to a third candidate (besides Wagner and Republican Lefkowitz), Lawrence Gerosa, a conservative Democratic businessman, who has held office as City Controller for two terms. Gerosa's principal plank was fiscal solvency—in the campaign he made his pitch to conservative groups and predicted municipal bankruptcy if Wagner won. When the returns rolled in, he had annexed over 300,000 votes.

A failure? Yes, but a very significant showing. For years Modern Republicans in the Empire State, among them Rocky, have ignored the conservatives ("they have nowhere else to go") and tried to look left-wing radical in order to get the Liberal party vote. That party traditionally carried about 400,000 votes, but this year got only 214,000. Now it is estimated that Gerosa, plus a minor "taxpayers' party" candidate, Battista, got a total turnout of 342,000 which far exceeds the 214,000 "swing vote" of the Liberal party.

Thus, political observers believe that Rockefeller is now confronted with an important political reality: a swing vote which is conservative.

This New York City bloc, plus his strength upstate, should ensure the Governor's re-election—provided he runs as a conservative, bidding for conservative Democratic, independent and GOP votes. If Rocky should abandon his usual "act" of seeking to annex the liberal vote (the Democrats can always outbid the GOP in that game), and if he should cater to the Gerosa followers, he would be following the only sensible political course—regardless of his personal liberal inclinations. It might impress the GOP nation-wise.

Incidentally, if Nixon had courted this "conservative swing vote" in the Empire State, he might have squeezed Kennedy in New York—the latter won the Empire State by only 384,000.

Texas: The recent Democratic congressional victory in San Antonio, where Henry B. Gonzalez beat Republican John Goode, Jr., is neither a black eye for Texas Republicans nor a laurel for the Democratic party.

It is noted that Goode, a relative newcomer to politics, ran up 42,553 votes to 52,885 for his much better known opponent, a veteran campaigner and state senator. Goode thus got 44.6 per cent of the ballots. This is seen as remarkable because the last Republican to contest for the seat, in 1948, got only 24.8 per cent of the votes. Since then it had been impossible to find a qualified candidate willing to carry the GOP banner in the district.

House GOP Campaign Committee Chairman Bob Wilson of California stated that "John Goode's showing proves without question that Republican strength in the South is definitely rising and could provide the necessary margin in winning the House of Representatives next year for the GOP."

Of much concern to political observers is the fact that, under the sponsorship of Vice President Johnson, a Congressman in the Federal legislature of the Republic of Mexico was brought into the campaign to stump for Gonzalez.

Over one-third of the District's voters are of Mexican extraction. The question arises as to whether it is proper—or legal—to bring in an official of a foreign government to interfere in an American election. Texans are not alone in regarding this as a disgraceful practice.

Will the San Antonio incident, it is asked, set a precedent for New Frontier campaigning? In the future, will the Prime Minister of Ghana be brought in for pre-election rallies in Harlem, or will the Prime Minister of Ireland be called upon to ensure a big Democratic turnout in Boston?

Operation Organization: Republican experts in the Capital, after a close look at election returns from coast to coast, discover that organization pays.

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Reports from Ohio show that Republican State Chairman Ray Bliss, a stickler for organization, was responsible for startling party gains in both city and rural areas. Under Bliss' direction, Republicans ousted Democratic mayors in the steel towns of Youngstown and Lorain. They swept all but one race in Columbus, the state's capital, including all three seats on the City Council.

Similarly, long-range planning was responsible for the overwhelming GOP victory in Louisville (see below). Republicans there had made careful preparations for this election, and a powerful organization had been built.

And in Tucson, Arizona, the well-oiled organization created by Barry Goldwater elected a GOP mayor, Lew Davis, by a 2-1 margin. Three Republican council candidates also won by handy margins, giving the Republicans all six council seats. Tucson and Phoenix comprise a majority of the state's voters. Now Arizona is firmly a Goldwater Republican state.

A Republican upsurge took place in Pennsylvania, with the GOP winning a State Supreme Court seat in the only state-wide election contest.

A Courier from Louisville: The GOP National Chairman was not engaged in merely boasting when he remarked last week that the turning out, in Louisville, Kentucky, of "a Democratic machine that held sway for 28 years is a victory of major proportions." But another bearer of good news, from a city which for 28 years has been saturated with liberal Democratic propaganda from the *Courier-Journal*, was a young lawyer, Gordon Buttorff—one of many who deserve credit for the achievement. Last year he got tired of seeing the Louisville Democratic machine steal elections year after year.

At the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference last July, Buttorff related how he had started a campaign to challenge unqualified voters, succeeded in a very corrupt precinct and went on to train some 200 smart, aggressive young men as challengers. On July 28, HUMAN EVENTS reported how successful these challengers had proved to be in the spring primaries, and predicted that traditionally Democratic Louisville would elect a GOP administration in November. The election returns last week found Republicans carrying every single seat on a slate of 44 candidates. And the Democratic boss was quoted as complaining that Republican challengers had taken over every precinct. *Q. E. D.*

Those Regional Conferences: Just before the 1940 election, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was running for his third term, he made a number of "inspection trips" to industrial and military centers. They were announced as non-partisan, but they turned into outright political visitations, which they apparently were intended to be from the beginning.

Now we have the "New Frontier" adaptation of the idea—a series of regional conferences, of public meetings in Chicago, St. Louis and other cities, in which the "state of the union" is discussed by a large troupe of Washington brass hats on public expense accounts. The gatherings are under the guise of non-partisanship and public welfare, but with heavy emphasis on what the Kennedy Administration wants from the next session of Congress.

Representative William E. Miller, GOP National Chairman, and other Republican leaders quickly diagnosed this traveling circus as an expenditure of public time and money to pressure Congress into enacting the Kennedy measures it rejected this year. The intent obviously goes beyond that—it is really a buildup for the congressional elections next year and the Presidential contest of 1964.

Not Merely Gossip: The real reason for the recent visit to Paris by Pierre Salinger, Kennedy's press chief, was to urge de Gaulle's aides to stop "leaks" to American reporters, according to HUMAN EVENTS correspondents in Paris. Salinger said these caused embarrassment to the White House—for when a White House statement comes out, the following day along comes a contrary statement either in the French press or by American foreign correspondents. The French politely told Salinger they can't control news sources, as "le grand General" is opposed to this, except in matters pertaining to the security of France. When the French press attache told the French President about Salinger's plea, de Gaulle commented: "*Quelle impertinence.*"

The UN: Soviet Russia has won a significant victory with the election of Burmese diplomat U Thant as United Nations Secretary General, according to observers here. Although it went almost unnoticed in the general press, the New York *Times* on October 5 carried a story that the Soviet Union had agreed to abandon its demand for a troika, provided Ralph Bunche, American delegate to the UN, and Soviet delegate Georgi P. Arkadyev would be named as undersecretaries to "neutral" U Thant.

U Thant's first action as Secretary General was to name these two men as his assistants. In short, the Soviets have hand picked the Secretariat staff and now have an informal troika.

It is also pointed out that chief Soviet delegate Valerian A. Zorin is serving this month as president of the UN Security Council. Zorin is openly backing an Ethiopian, Nigerian and Sudanese petition which calls for action by the Security Council against the pro-Western forces in Katanga.

Zorin, who has been backing a "Congo unification" drive since mid-October, recently conferred with U Thant on the Katanga situation. It is believed that the new Secretary General is backing Zorin in his open drive against Katanga.

W. P. LOTT, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Zavalla, Texas: "The thing that makes HUMAN EVENTS stand out most is the fact that you 'pull no punches' regardless of who is the recipient."

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Taylor Mission: Inside reports say General Maxwell Taylor's recommendations to the President on aid to South Viet Nam have been given a marshmallow covering by Kennedy adviser Walt Whitman Rostow who accompanied Taylor on his trip to the Far East.

According to Far Eastern experts HUMAN EVENTS has contacted—one of whom served as an American adviser to South Viet Nam—the Communists could be defeated if Asian pro-West guerillas were parachuted into both Laos and North Viet Nam. These pro-Western forces could harass the privileged Red sanctuaries so that Viet Cong rebels in South Viet Nam could no longer depend on these uninterrupted supply lines—the real source of rebel strength.

Friends of Rostow tell HUMAN EVENTS that he is vehemently opposed to such offensive measures against the Communists and that he refused to consider such an idea when suggested by the South Vietnamese government. Thus, such recommendations had no chance of becoming part of the Taylor report.

Rostow's own formula for handling Red guerilla operations was revealed in a June 28 speech he made to students at the special guerilla warfare school at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Rostow emphasized that economic aid (part of Taylor's recommendations) and an international control commission to police Red guerilla activities were two of the most essential means to combat the Communists. Both have failed miserably in the past, but Kennedy seems to be relying on such advice at the present time.

Reds Aim at Franco: The International Association of Democratic Lawyers recently sent five "impartial observers" to the United Nations, pleading amnesty for thousands of so-called political prisoners supposedly languishing in Spain under the rule of General Francisco Franco.

The cry of the IADL was quickly picked up by many news organs across the nation. The New York *Times* editorially sided with the IADL, quoting, as authority for the charges against Franco, Albert L. Colloms—one of the five lawyers sent by the IADL to the UN.

What the *Times* and other newspapers failed to report, however, was that the IADL also sent a delegation to embattled Korea during that war, and the group returned with a report that the US had used germ warfare, a typical Kremlin fabrication.

Albert L. Colloms, moreover, has an interesting past. In November, 1956, he took the Fifth Amendment when asked by the House Committee on Un-American Activities if he had ever been a member of the Communist party.

Anne Colloms, his wife, was also asked by the HCUA in 1950 if she had been a courier for a Communist ring operating between New York and Mexico City. Mrs. Colloms likewise took the Fifth Amendment.

Capitol Camera: As Secretary of Labor, James Mitchell was unquestionably a friend of organized labor. Despite President Eisenhower's silence on the subject, Mitchell openly and strongly opposed state right-to-work laws (which forbid compulsory unionism). When his term was ending, the AFL-CIO gave a dinner in his honor. But in the New Jersey governorship fight the AFL-CIO declined to indorse him, and most union support went to his opponent, Democrat Richard J. Hughes. So Mitchell must be wondering if organized labor's gratitude is confined to dinners.

• *Newly elected Texas Democratic Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez reportedly attributes his victory to a goof by former President Eisenhower. In a pre-election statement in San Antonio, Ike defended Kennedy's program of selling jet fighter planes to Red Yugoslavia and training Yugoslav pilots in Texas.*

• Democratic pros in New Jersey are reportedly delighted that the defeat of Mitchell has caused a tremendous loss of prestige for his fellow liberal Republican and sponsor, Senator Clifford Case. (Mitchell lost because conservatives sat on their hands.) They now confidently plan to win Case's seat in 1966 by running a conservative Democrat against him.

• *Newburgh, New York, City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell, author of a get-tough-with-chiselers welfare program, stated that he would resign if two Republican city councilmen, who strongly supported his program, were defeated in last week's elections. Both GOP councilmen were handily re-elected.*

• Here-we-go-again Department: Harold Stassen said last week that his "supporters" are urging him to run for Governor of Pennsylvania next year. Perennial candidate-for-everything Stassen said he is considering it.

• *West Berliners recently raised* 700,000 *marks* ($125,000) *for American hurricane victims under the slogan "Help those who help us." So far no contributions are reported from the "uncommitted nations."*

• Dr. Donald Ackerman, Research Director of the GOP House Policy Committee, recently stated that Congressman Dorn (D.-S.C.) might run for the Senate as a Republican next year against Olin Johnston. Dorn refused to confirm or deny the report.

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The 'Depressed Areas' Agency's Hoax

The Real Story Behind Its 'Achievements'

WHEN CAMPAIGNING for the Presidency, JFK made a special appeal to the "depressed areas." He spoke feelingly about 17 million Americans going to bed hungry every night.

His pitch proved so successful in West Virginia that visits were scheduled for him to almost every community with heavy unemployment.

New Frontiersmen charged that the 1960 recession was aided and abetted by greedy capitalists who wanted a large pool of jobless people to keep labor docile.

Conditions would be changed if he were elected, the ambitious young candidate promised. Residents of "depressed areas" were led to believe that he would put down into their communities shining new factories that would take up the local unemployment slack.

The Senator was elected. Complying with his request, Congress set up the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) with an introductory appropriation of $394 million.

On the basis of its initial activities, what may we expect? How much industrial rehabilitation may be expected in West Virginia and other depressed areas? ARA has been in business only a few months; nevertheless, one can already see the pattern of its answers to those questions.

AN EXAMINATION of the unemployment problem must begin with the question of how many persons are *actually* unemployed in the United States. The jobless total constituted the principal argument for passage of many new Kennedy programs of Federal action in the First Session of the 87th Congress.

JFK came into office claiming there were 5.6 million persons unemployed—or 7 per cent of the work force.

The US has a larger percentage of unemployed than any other modern industrial nation, continues the argument. Because of that fact, the Federal government must do more—more—more.

Now the truth is that a part of the reported increase in the percentage of unemployed is simply due to a change in the method of making the enumeration. The periodic count is made for the Department of Labor, controlled by liberals who want greater governmental power over the economy and vastly increased Federal spending. Throughout the years, these liberals have maneuvered changes in the method of counting the unemployed for the purpose of artificially raising their number.

To illustrate: Many countries report the "total unemployed" as the number *registered at the government employment exchanges.* The US total would drop probably 50 per cent by any such criterion.

The US method is to send out government agents to call on some 30,000 homes, projecting the answers from 30,000 into a national total. The agents ask how many persons in each household are seeking jobs.

The housewife may answer "yes" for herself, though she would accept none except a dream job offering a juicy paycheck. Nevertheless, her "yes" puts her down as "unemployed." Also counted are teeners during school vacations who have never yet held jobs and might quit the first day when they found that shuffling potato crates is not their idea of "excitement." Also counted is the housewife who welcomed dismissal from her job—perhaps even manipulating the dismissal—so she could collect $40 a week in unemployment benefits for 39 weeks. If the employment bureau should send her out for a job interview, she would assume an attitude belligerent enough to convince the personnel director that she would not be a desirable employee. She wants to continue to be "unemployed" so she can collect her full quota of unemployment checks.

Form your own conclusions by multiplying 39 weeks by 40 tax-free dollars.

ARA's First 'Achievement'

THE STORY of ARA's first "achievement" in helping to provide jobs for 1,000 unemployed in a "depressed area" was told in HUMAN EVENTS, August 4. For those who did not read it, here are the high spots.

Gassville, Arkansas, (population 233) got a Mar-Bax Shirt Company plant employing 1,000 persons from a four-county area; annual payroll, $2.5 million. ARA (the Area Redevelopment Administration) issued a press release boasting of its first achievement. It claimed it had helped get jobs for 1,000 unemployed in a "depressed area." Taxpayers should be told the WHOLE truth about the Gassville operation. Without doubt, the Gassville release is a forerunner of many such boasts.

In abbreviated form, here's the Gassville story:

THE MAR-BAX SHIRT COMPANY and the four Arkansas counties began negotiations several years ago. Last November—months before ARA was born—voters of two of the counties passed a $535,000 bond issue to build the shirt-making plant.

After the bond passage, it was discovered that a water system costing $160,000 was needed. Since the benefitted area had eagerly agreed to put up $535,000 to get 1,000 jobs, everybody of consequence in Gassville admits the area would have found a way to provide the additional $160,000. Aggressive leaders in the four counties had persuaded the State Legislature to pass a special legislative act authorizing the two-county bond issue. The same leadership would have obtained passage of another special act to provide the waterworks, if that should have been necessary. But why should they?

Gassville area leaders soon learned that the Area Redevelopment Administration had been created and was searching for opportunities to claim credit for providing jobs. ARA officials were looking for communities to which they could give away Federal money. Gassville was willing to co-operate and accept the money.

Result: Uncle Sam paid for the waterworks with an outright grant of $129,000 and a 25-year loan of $31,000 at a low 3 3/8 per cent government interest rate.

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Liberals and labor leaders demand federalization of the unemployment system. They believe that a federalized system will allow them to ease the eligibility requirements and pay out much larger checks for much longer periods. These accomplishments will increase the number of "unemployed" and supply them with additional arguments for bigger Federal spending.

WHEN JFK'S REQUEST for a $394 million appropriation for an ARA was before Congress, the question was repeatedly asked: How many stable, permanent jobs paying American wages can be created with that diminutive amount?

Economists say that, on the average, a capital investment of $16,500 is required per fruitful job. If Kennedy were to create, say, one million new jobs—and he could hardly aim for less remembering his 17 million people who go to bed hungry every night—he would have to get from Congress an appropriation of $16.5 billions.

Instead, he settled for only 2.4 per cent of that amount —or $394 million. Divide $394 million by an investment of $16,500 per job and you get only 23,878 jobs.

The depressed areas agency—given the typically New Frontier euphonious title of "Area Redevelopment Administration"—opened for business. It had to claim credit for new jobs—lots of them—or Congress might reject requests for multiplying appropriations on the next go-round.

Well, now the early returns are beginning to come in. The first two precincts have been heard from. What do they tell us about the incredible resourcefulness of the New Frontiersmen?

They tell us plenty. Far more than you in your wildest moments ever dreamed. Let's take a look and see what the JFK machine—which promised to carry on where FDR left off—is up to.

ARA, the Area Redevelopment Administration, has already made two enthusiastic announcements. Achievement No. 1 said that 1,000 jobs had been created in Gassville, Arkansas. (HUMAN EVENTS, August 4, 1961, page 488.) ARA's financial share: $129,000 in an outright grant and $31,000 in a 25-year low-interest loan. Dividing $160,000 by 1,000 brings the cost of creating jobs down to $160. Not $16,500 per job, but $160 per job.

For HUMAN EVENTS readers who may have forgotten the details. We have given it a quick summarization on page 771. Our story on the next page concerns ARA's Achievement No. 2—what ARA claims it has done for Cambridge, Maryland.

Cambridge, Maryland—says the release—was in pitiful condition when ARA moved in. The city of 12,000 population had 1,600 unemployed. However, 875 new jobs have now been created with the help of ARA. Cambridge has been transformed from a depressed area to a city full of hope and optimism.

To learn how ARA effected such a miracle—something hundreds of ambitious chambers of commerce throughout the USA would like to know—HUMAN EVENTS sent Assistant Editors Kenneth E. Thompson and Bruce R. Barr to Cambridge. They talked to scores of Cambridge people—to people at the top of the heap and to people at the bottom. They got the full story of how 875 jobs were created and what ARA did.

'Big Oaks from Little Acorns Grow . . .'

Last January, when John F. Kennedy was inaugurated, the nation allegedly was in a sad, sad state.

If you doubt that read the New Frontier's pronouncements about how bad things were then and how much better they have been getting month by month.

But all that "improvement" must not prevent the distribution of "free" Federal money—said distribution being the New Frontier's secret weapon.

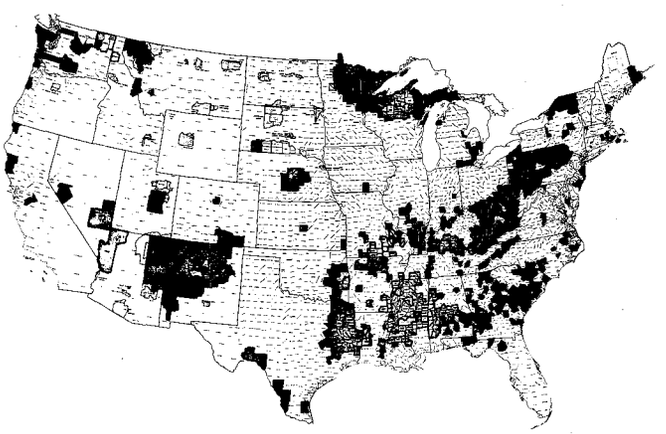
To get aid from the ARA, an area must be "depressed."

Therefore, by August, one-fourth of all the counties in the USA were "depressed"—and going downhill at an alarming rate.

If you don't believe it, look at the two maps—one showing the "depressed" areas in January when JFK took office and the August map, just seven months later.

Major Areas—20 *Minor Areas—83*

Varying shading on map indicates type of so-called "depressed area"—urban area, rural area or Indian reservation.



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A Visit to Cambridge, Maryland

THERE'S SOMETHING FISHY going on in Cambridge, Maryland—one of the biggest oyster and crab-producing port cities on the East Coast. But this time it hasn't a thing to do with the seafood industry.

In August, the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) of the Commerce Department announced that $213,300 had been granted to the City of Cambridge ($159,975 in the form of an outright grant and $53,325 in the form of a 40-year loan). Uncle Sam is putting up the money for a sewer project designed to attract new industry to this town of some 12,000 people on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay.

According to press releases and official statements about the Cambridge project, the City of Cambridge was pictured as a rapidly-dying community—one "hard hit by chronic unemployment" in recent years and unable to pull itself up by its own bootstraps.

The real story—which is readily apparent to anyone interested enough in lifting the blanket of half-truths which has been draped over the project—is a study in distortion. In brief, the story involves the use of patently-phony unemployment statistics—a Hollywood-like job of casting what is really a prosperous and pleasant resort town in the role of a Steinbeck-like Cannery Row.

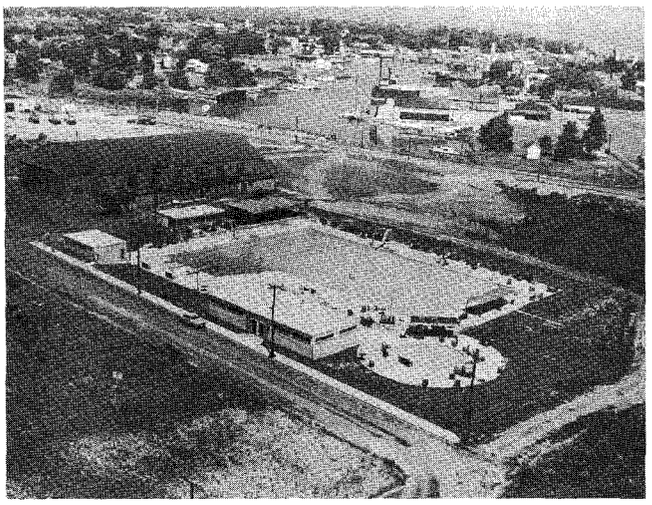
The visitor to Cambridge will not find a crumbling ghost town with deserted shops, dirty slums and empty factories. What he will find is an attractive community of 12,239 people, few of whom are unemployed, and a breath-taking view of the Choptank River and Chesapeake Bay, complete with a yacht club and several hundred fishing boats, schooners, yawls and cabin cruisers. Driving along the Bay on the western side of town, he will pass three or four miles of large, gracefully-landscaped mansions, many with their own landings or piers.

In the poorest areas of Cambridge, he will find nothing which could accurately be described as a slum; he will unearth no juvenile delinquency; he will discover that the local schools match up to anything in the state.

Local morale and civic interest is good. The 75-member volunteer fire department has provided the town with an arena, and a swimming pool which is billed as the largest pool on the Eastern Seaboard. The local country club has more than 700 members. The downtown area has clean, well-paved streets and a neat, fairly-modern shopping district. On the outskirts are a number of large and handsome industrial buildings and stores erected in the past few years.

Why, then, is a city of so many virtues and assets described as a "distressed area" and standing in line for Federal handouts to build a $213,000 sewer system? To answer the question, it is necessary to go back a few years.

UNTIL 1951, Cambridge was what might be called a one-man, one-industry community. The man was Colonel Albanus Phillips; the industry was Phillips canneries. A large percentage of the working population of Cambridge was employed at the Phillips packing plants, where things went well until the end of the Korean War. With the loss of government contracts for canned rations, the Phillips Company began a steady decline of business.



'Depressed' Cambridge, Maryland, boasts the largest East Coast community swimming pool.

Other businesses suffered and the unemployment rolls increased until 1958, when the local Chamber of Commerce decided that something would have to be done.

A four-man Cambridge Industrial Development Committee was appointed: realtor Phillip Williamson, retailer Bob Davis, business executive Donald Holdt and newspaper executive Herman Stevens.

The Committee raised $15,000 to employ an industrial development research firm which analyzed the town's assets and drawbacks and made recommendations.

To 5,000 manufacturers especially selected by the industrial research firm, the Committee sent personal letters advertising what Cambridge had to offer. Three hundred companies responded; to each was sent the complete analysis.

In addition, the four Committee members have averaged one and a half days a week for the past three years talking to the industrial prospects. In many cases, they flew long distances to visit the companies' home offices.

Their efforts have paid off handsomely. In three years, the Cambridge Industrial Development Committee has accomplished miracles.

Three major firms have been brought into Cambridge in the past year, and several more have the community under consideration. Textron Corporation's Dorset Marine Division has built a million-dollar plant to make fiberglass boats. Western Publishing Company has built a million-dollar plant employing 225 workers to print pocket books and high-school and college yearbooks. Furthermore, the plant will be quadrupled over the next 3 years—at a cost of $3 million more and providing 650 more jobs.

The Chun King Corporation, a Duluth food processor, has started a million-dollar building where another 225 workers will be employed. The Bumble Bee Tuna Corporation will soon have a branch factory in part of the old Phillips cannery establishment.

AS A RESULT of the community's own efforts, Cambridge is no longer in trouble. Mrs. Vivian Parks, supervisor of the Maryland State Employment Service office in Cambridge, told the HUMIAN EVENTS reporters that the number of persons unemployed in Cambridge today is 300 to 400.

Nevertheless, the US Department of Commerce news release of September 14, announcing the grant for Cam-

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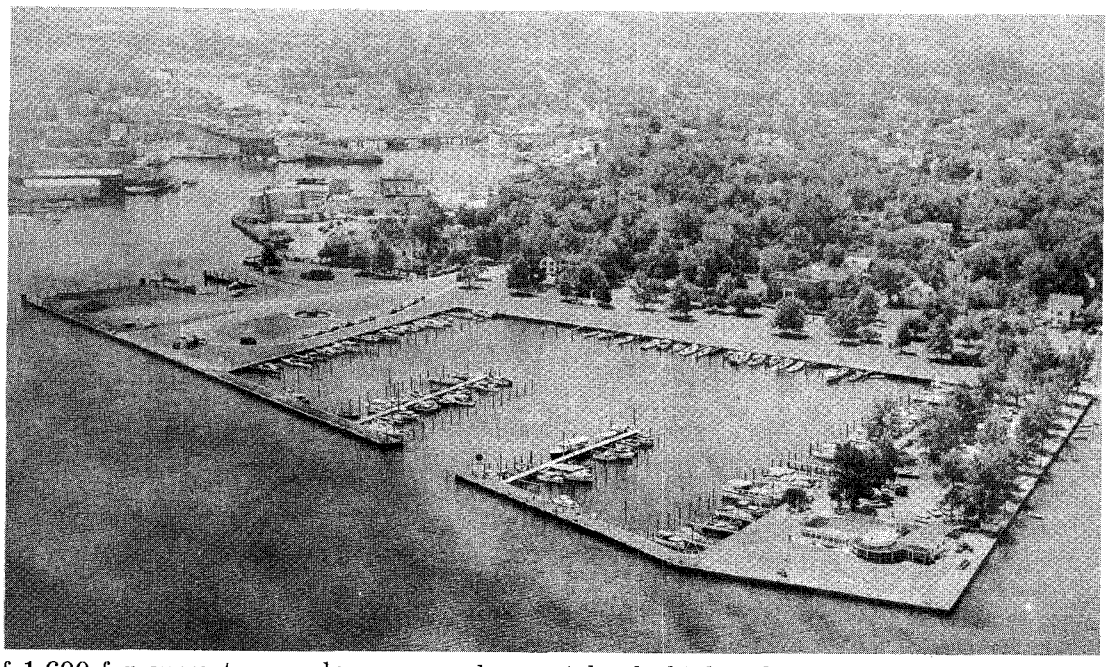

Cambridge, Maryland, shown from the air from Chesapeake Bay. In the foreground is the Cambridge Yacht Club and boat basin.

bridge, used the figure of 1,600 for current unemployment. Where did the Department's Area Redevelopment Administration get the figure?

Apparently it is the figure for June, Maryland State Employment Service officials explained. But June is not a typical employment month for Cambridge. Since the town is an oyster and crab center, much of its employment is seasonal. For four months a year, the oyster and crab packing plants all but shut down and June is the low point of this four-month slack period.

Oystermen and crabmen know how to live with this seasonal dip. They are well paid during the season and they set aside enough to tide them over the slack period—much as do teachers who are on a three-month vacation every year.

For their labor, cannery communities depend in large part upon women and teen-age vacation workers. In Cambridge, as in other such communities, *there are actually more women employed than men.* Many of these women do not want year-round jobs. They welcome jobs during the rush season to make extra money, and then eagerly go back to their kitchens for the rest of the year. Yet they can be listed as "unemployed" for a large part of the year—if ARA wishes to create a false impression.

Now, *how* did the Federal government decide to get into the act in Cambridge? The Area Redevelopment Act requires that aid be given only to cities with unemployment levels higher than those for the nation as a whole. So—hocus pocus—the June unemployment figures were taken.

Why did the Federal government want to get into the act? The answer to that question is perhaps the easiest of all.

The Washington planners must "prove" that they can solve the nation's unemployment ills through the use of Federal loans and grants. They do that by first classifying as "depressed" every community which by any stretch of the imagination can be so characterized. Then, they let every such "depressed area" know that Federal money can be gotten "free for the asking." Then, when the money is passed out, New Frontiersmen can claim that the Federal contribution helped create the jobs.

Cambridge was quick to apply for the free Federal money. Mayor Calvin Mobray told HUMAN EVENTS: "I believe we were probably the first city to apply for area redevelopment funds," adding that "they didn't even have any forms for us to use."

The ARA agents wanted to know what Cambridge needed for the new factories that ARA could pay for. The answer came quickly: The new industries wanted a new sewer system; it would cost $213,000.

Now it is certainly true that the people in and near Cambridge would have eagerly put up the extra $213,000, since 875 new jobs were being created. But why spend $213,000 of Cambridge's money when ARA's agents were begging them to accept "free" Federal money—so ARA could tell Congress how much it had done to help a "depressed area?"

The City of Cambridge could easily have raised the money. The City has a bonded indebtedness of less than 3½ per cent of its assessed value—less than one-half of what is generally regarded as a conservative limit.

Perhaps the best reason for not raising the funds locally was summed up by Bob Davis, a member of the Industrial Development Committee, when he told HUMAN EVENTS: "I suppose we could have raised the money right here, if we had to. But somebody was going to get that ARA money, and we figured it might as well be Cambridge."

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HUMAN EVENTS --- COMMENTARY ---

Vol. XVIII, No. 46 — Section III November 17, 1961

Totalitarian vs. Representative Government

By Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.)

I AM DISMAYED that men of great intellectual ability, such as US Commissioner of Education Sterling M. McMurrin, are openly suggesting that the methods of totalitarian states are in any way superior to the practices of societies living under representative government.

In his speech at Harvard University, Mr. McMurrin said: "The question we now must ask is whether, without the regimentation of the human souls and their resources that we quite properly abhor and through a protracted period of collective anxiety that commonly weakens rather than strengthens a nation's character, we have the intellectual, moral and spiritual resources to guarantee our security in the presence of totalitarian states of great power."

McMURRIN

This indeed is the question, Mr. McMurrin. Those of us who oppose the expansion of bureaucracy and the delegation of all responsibility to the Federal establishment answer your question with a ringing, "Yes." We do have the power to maintain our freedom in this world without "regimentation of human souls and their resources . . ."

Free men have been and always will be more productive than slaves. A free society in which the diversity of talent among men is recognized, where creative effort is encouraged and rewarded, always has and always will create more power and more enduring strength than a totalitarian state.

We are, I suggest, being whipped into action by those who would use the recent accomplishments of the Soviet Union as a scourge to drive us to surrender some of our individual freedoms.

It is true that the Soviet Union has made some remarkable advances in rocketry and missiles, and in the development of some weapons of war, but I would remind Mr. McMurrin and those who agree with him that much of this spectacular scientific advance has been based on the wisdom and knowledge of the West—stolen by spies or in some cases freely offered to the world by our men of science.

In his speech at Harvard, Mr. McMurrin said: (emphasis mine) "It is now entirely clear to us that whatever may be the *quality of individual life* in a totalitarian society, a vast potential of national power is provided by the monolithic structure of its purposes and institutions."

Let us not dismiss the importance of the individual in such cavalier fashion. The quality of individual life in a totalitarian society, Mr. McMurrin, is miserable, for slavery is contrary to the nature of man, and those who live as slaves in a very real sense are already dead.

Man is more than a machine to be used efficiently, and because this is true, man is more efficient under freedom. The low standard of living, the lack of cultural and educational opportunities, the limitations on travel, the brutal censorship which characterize the totalitarian Communist states would be unacceptable to a once free people even if it could be proved that tyranny is more efficient. And indeed all logic, all understanding of history, all current reports on Russia, to my mind at least, establish beyond question the error of that suggestion.

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Beginning Next Week

How to Engage In Practical Politics

Beginning next week, HUMAN EVENTS will present the first in a series of articles on practical politics.

Designed for the here and now, rather than the when and if, these articles are intended to stimulate, motivate and inform you on a program of practical political action. In this series, we will borrow advice and information freely from the best professionals in both parties, along with material from the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, the US Chamber of Commerce, the Americans for Democratic Action, the National Association of Manufacturers, and almost every other militant action group in Washington, D. C. This will include a detailed plan for the construction of a precinct organization capable of winning elections and increasing your voice in local government. We intend to speak bluntly, omitting eyewash and sugar coating.

Your job is to remember that elections are not won in the last few hectic weeks of a campaign. The regular party people are busy, you're new and inexperienced, and by the time you begin to function smoothly the election is over. Offering your services six weeks before the elections may result in a harried rebuff by party regulars, leaving you angry and bewildered at their lack of appreciation for your services.

The time to start is now, the place is your neighborhood, and the person to get moving is you.

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An Editor Talks Bluntly to the President

PRESIDENT KENNEDY has a new White House public relations gimmick. Or perhaps it might be more accurate to say that he has expanded an old one. The old one, at which FDR was adept, was to invite an important editor or publisher or columnist or commentator to the White House for lunch or dinner.

Ed Murrow, for example, was a White House guest the day after Pearl Harbor; in fact, to listen to Egbert's private conversations, he had the run of the White House under FDR. Naturally Murrow's broadcasts reflected the close relationship.

DEALEY

JFK's device is to extend invitations to 20 or 30 editors from a single state. The editors are told they should come because their advice is needed and wanted by the President—pure blarney, of course—because the purpose of the meeting is to butter up the visitors.

The President's remarks and answers to questions are "off-the-record"—suggesting that the editors are getting confidential information.

When a group of Texas editors were invited, Ted Dealey, the outspoken editor-publisher of the Dallas *Morning News*, decided to take the President's invitation seriously. When he was called upon he made the following statement to the President:

> The general opinion of the grass-roots thinking in this country is that you and your Administration are weak sisters.
>
> Particularly is this true in Texas right now.
>
> We need a man on horseback to lead this nation and many people in Texas and the Southwest think that you are riding Caroline's tricycle.
>
> The American people are aroused and rightly so. They are, as a body, way ahead of Washington. If you don't believe this, read the Letters From Readers columns in most United States newspapers.
>
> The attitude on the part of the public should be cultivated, not dissipated through conciliatory gestures on the part of Khrushchev or by unfounded statements of reassurance from Washington.
>
> The American people should stay aroused.
>
> *They do not want to see this nation make any concessions to Russia. They do not feel we need to. The people are convinced that we are so far ahead of the USSR in every respect that we should lead from strength, not from weakness.*
>
> We are not cowards and will not wallow in the sloughs of degradation.
>
> We do not want to be lulled to sleep any more. We are awake and angry and intend to remain so.
>
> We can annihilate Russia and should make that clear to the Soviet government.
>
> This means undoubtedly that they can simultaneously destroy us. But it is better to die than to submit to communism and slavery. This is in the American tradition.
>
> If we stand firm, there will be no war. The Russians will back down.
>
> We want desperately to follow the Administration as long as the Administration displays courage, but we will not follow its policies like a bunch of driven sheep if it gives in to Russia one iota.
>
> The American people are sick and tired of being bluffed, of negotiations when there is nothing to negotiate, of making concessions that should not be made.
>
> These state meetings with the press should not be social meetings. You cannot proselyte the newspapers of America and win them to your side by soft soap.
>
> They, more than you or any group in Washington, are the guardians of our freedom.
>
> We want to know the truth and want to tell the American people the truth, bitter though it may be.
>
> We want to tell them what constitutes our national and international policies forthrightly and clearly.
>
> The people will not be satisfied with less. We are not morons to be led around by the nose by an invested bureaucracy.
>
> So let the Administration put all its cards on the table face up—no more secrecy, no more muzzling the military, no more half knowledge, and half truths.
>
> Everything possible should be on the record. No small group should delegate to itself the authority to speak always off the record.
>
> The American public wants to know the facts and to share in the ultimate decisions.
>
> We do not want, of course, to publish information that will endanger the national security and we will not do this.
>
> This is voluntary censorship on our part.
>
> But we do want to know and to be privileged to print the whole story within the limits of national security on the one hand and the public's right to know on the other.

The Dealey statement caused a ruckus. Charles Woodson of Brownwood, one of the publishers present, spoke up and denounced Dealey. The Dallas editor responded by asking for a show of hands of those around the table who thought Dealey might be out of line. Despite the presence of the President, less than half of those present raised their hands.

Dealey then explained to the President that his memorandum was not an expression of personal opinion, but was instead a reflection of public opinion in Texas as he understood it.

The President replied that he was not mad—adding with a smile, "[I] don't subscribe to that paper. I'm tired of reading its editorials."

To which White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger replied, "But I have to read them."

Something for Nothing

Privately financed business organizations always like to keep track of where the tax money goes.

The head of one such organization here keeps on his desk a "Handbook of Federal Aids to Communities," published recently by the Commerce Department. It lists the various Federal programs available to municipalities. He has it labeled: "Gift Catalog."

—Washington Daily News

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Will GOP Voters Oust Senator Kuchel?

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

REPUBLICAN SENATE Whip Tom Kuchel may find a rough-and-tumble primary battle on his hands next year for the GOP Senatorial nomination in California.

It would come from freshman Congressman John Rousselot, a 33-year-old conservative who feels that Kuchel has been "too liberal" in his Senate actions over the past several years.

ROUSSELOT

KUCHEL

Rousselot is sounding out support in his native state for the race. A tour from north to south convinced him there is grave dissatisfaction on the part of many GOP regulars with Kuchel's voting.

Rousselot, former chief of his state's Young Republican organization, would have little difficulty finding campaign workers. Funds for the primary are another matter, and estimates are that he would need at least half a million dollars for the race.

There is considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the GOP Senate leadership with Kuchel's recent performance. There have been, for instance, ten key Senate votes, on which defecting GOP Senators have given President Kennedy legislative victory. On six of those ten, Kuchel deserted the party leadership. Only three Republicans have a worse record.

Leadership disagreements with Kuchel go back to April, 1959, and the bitter fight over the Kennedy-Ervin labor reform bill. It was Kuchel at that time who "sold out"—in the words of one GOP chieftain—to organized labor and maneuvered a union-conceived amendment through Congress that destroyed the McClellan bill of rights and diluted an effective reform bill beyond recognition.

After then-Senator John Kennedy had lost his battle against the McClellan provisions, union top brass went to Kuchel for support.

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Kuchel had originally voted in favor of the bill of rights, which was passed when Vice President Nixon broke a tie by casting the deciding vote in favor. AFL-CIO legislative director Andrew Biemiller, himself a former Congressman, got to Kuchel, however, and somehow persuaded him to defect.

The two holed up in secret, where Biemiller and Kuchel came up with an amendment to delete the McClellan provisions. With the final draft of his amendment in hand, Kuchel strode out onto the Senate floor with a new aide at his side. It was Ralph Duncan, borrowed from the labor brain-trust of John F. Kennedy.

At this point, Massachusetts Senator Leverett Saltonstall, normally cool and collected, angrily told Kuchel to "get that guy off our side of the aisle." Kuchel, however, paid no heed. Duncan remained with him for the rest of the debate.

The Kuchel amendment to scrap the bill of rights was a cleverly contrived parliamentary curve ball, designed to evade the fact that the Senate had earlier committed itself not to vote again on the McClellan amendment. Senator Styles Bridges charged the Kuchel amendment was nothing but a slick legislative trick, and that it violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the Senate rules.

Republican Kuchel stood fast, with Democrat Duncan lending moral support, and retorted that he and his co-sponsors—Democratic Senators [Richard L.] Neuberger and Church, for example—"need not apologize" for their amendment. The Senate, by this time, was in a tempest.

Kuchel's final remarks were met by boos from the Republican side of the aisle, something the oldest Hill veterans could not recall happening before. Idaho's Republican Henry Dworshak, white-faced with anger, accosted Kuchel and shouted:

"You four-flusher! What are you trying to do to the Republican party?"

The usually mild-mannered Dworshak unleashed a right-hand punch at Kuchel, which failed to land only because a colleague quickly jumped between them.

The Kuchel amendment passed as labor's lobbyists applied the screws and a strong reform bill was completely destroyed. Republican leaders have not forgiven Kuchel to this day.

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One reason American workers will never go Communist is that when they hear the shout "Workers Arise," they think it's a coffee break.

—Congressman Carroll Kearns (R.-Pa.)

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Book Review

Hamilton Revisited

From Economic Intelligence

The remarkable parallels are revealed to a present-day student by a reading of Professor Louis M. Hacker's striking study: *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition,* McGraw-Hill, N. Y., $4.75.

Hacker's study puts Hamilton, the first Secretary of the US Treasury, in a new light; he was not the spokesman for the property classes, nor the protectionist which is commonly assumed. He did not want a strong all-powerful central government to dominate and control the states. He was a profound believer in the philosophy of limited government. He was concerned with the creation of a political climate conducive to work, production, innovation and risk-taking investment. He wanted to assure the central government's sources of revenue and its control of the stability of money. This rested on a straightforward conclusion: if the government's credit and finances are on a sound basis and if the USA has a monetary system which would command the confidence of the private citizen and potential foreign lender and investor, the USA would "take off," to use a modern phrase.

The public credit must be sound in order that natives and foreigners alike would never question, in their investment and other economic decisions, the stability of the government. The Rule of Law, again to use a relatively modern phrase, must have such a general consensus of support, that the security of property rights and the sanctity of contracts would not be in doubt. This was the foundation for widespread general well-being.

Hacker's study is so important that it should be required reading for every employee in the State Department, ICA, the Peace Corps, and US embassies abroad who is in a policy-guidance position. This would help to keep our foreign policy on a sound track with a desirable payoff. It would save the taxpayers millions of dollars which will otherwise malfunction in the vast wasteland of foreign policy implementation.

Laos, etc., need not be repeated. Time is running out. A return to essentials and first principles in a few key countries—in Asia, Africa and Latin America—may yet save us. Professor Hacker in his study of Hamilton points unmistakenly to the practical and feasible policies.

Price Fixing Confusion

From the Omaha World Herald

The Department of Agriculture has charged seven meat packers, three food chains and two producers with "manipulating or controlling lamb prices, and restricting competition in lamb buying." Secretary Freeman called the charges "gravely serious."

If the same business firms were engaged in the marketing and processing of some other farm commodities—wheat, for example—they would be required to comply with the price manipulation and restriction of competition which Mr. Freeman carries out under the directive of Federal law.

Confusing, isn't it?

Amen, Mr. Kennedy

By Congressman H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa)

Speaking at the University of Virginia Law School Forum, Charlottesville, Virginia, on December 12, 1950, the Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the President, had this to say:

"We have never wanted a part of other people's scrapes. Today we have them and just why, nobody quite seems to know. What business is it of ours to support French colonial policy in Indo-China or to achieve Mr. Syngman Rhee's concepts of democracy in Korea? Shall we now send the Marines into the mountains of Tibet to keep the Dalai Lama on his throne? We can do well to mind our business and interfere only where somebody threatens our business and our homes.

"The policy I suggest, moreover, gives us a chance economically to keep our heads above water. For years, I have argued the necessity for not burdening ourselves with unnecessary debts. There is no surer way to destroy the basis of American enterprise than to destroy the initiative of the men who make it. We will, of course, continue to have to pay and pay heavily for our defense. But what have we now in hand for the billions that we have spent abroad? We can no longer afford this luxury; we dare not afford its consequences to our own security. Those who recall 1932 know too easily the dangers that can arise from within, when our own economic system fails to function. If we weaken it with lavish spending either on foreign nations or in foreign wars, we run the danger of precipitating another 1932 and of destroying the very system which we are trying to save.

"An Atlas, whose back is bowed and whose hands are busy holding up the world, has no arms left to deal with his own defense. Increase his burdens and you will crush him, or attack him from behind and he cannot turn to defend himself. This is our present posture. It strangles our might."

This is one Kennedy speech I can endorse wholeheartedly, and it's too bad the President apparently doesn't agree with his father.

Political Action Conference

HUMAN EVENTS will hold its third Political Action Conference on Friday and Saturday, January 5 and 6, 1962, at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C. "What You Can Do to Help Conservatives Win in 1962" will be the theme of the Conference.

Senators and Representatives and other political authorities will speak and answer your questions. Many persons who attended the two previous Conferences have already registered. Conference fees for all sessions, including breakfast, lunch and dinner on both days, are $75 each; $45 for additional members of the same immediate family (wives, sons, daughters), and for students, teachers, clergymen and members of Y.A.F. and I.S.I. Special rates—$10 for singles, $15 for doubles—have been arranged at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

All fees will be returned in full if for any reason whatsoever you cannot attend the Conference.

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Vol. XVIII, No. 46–Section IV HUMAN EVENTS November 17, 1961

Will Gallup Put Rocky Over?

By JAMES L. WICK

DR. GEORGE GALLUP is up to his old tricks. He is repeating his flow of advice to the Republican party that it cannot win unless it nominates a liberal for the Presidency. For 1964, he indicated that means Nelson Rockefeller.

Dr. Gallup's drive to influence the 1964 nomination began with his poll released August 30. His poll does not specify the number of persons interviewed, but, if he is following his usual pattern, it was of about 3,000 persons—an average of 60 per state or seven per Congressional district or one person per county.

Those interviewed were asked whom they preferred for the Presidency—Rockefeller or Goldwater? The answer by categories (excluding those with no opinions):

Informed Republicans

Rockefeller ..... 50 per cent
Goldwater ..... 39 per cent

Informed Independents

Rockefeller ..... 42 per cent
Goldwater ..... 33 per cent

Informed Democrats

Rockefeller ..... 57 per cent
Goldwater ..... 25 per cent

We are not here questioning Dr. Gallup's figures. They may or may not be accurate. What we are challenging is the "expert advice" which Dr. Gallup feels a compulsion to give to the 30-odd-million members of the Republican party. The "advice" is important because it will be pumped out by the pollster scores of times between now and 1964. Wrote Gallup:

> ". . . a major dilemma facing the Republicans arises from the fact that the GOP is the minority party in US politics.
>
> "If they hope to win the White House, in brief, they must come up with a candidate capable of appealing to a majority of the nation's independent voters as well as to some rank-and-file Democrats.
>
> "Indications at present are that Rockefeller would have more appeal to Democrats and independents than would the conservative Goldwater."

Emphasis that a Republican candidate must be able to win Democrats and independents prompts the following thought:

Gallup says 33 per cent of the independents and 25 per cent of the Democrats prefer Goldwater to Rockefeller. That being the case, isn't it likely that they would also prefer Goldwater to Kennedy? Democrats and independents who want a conservative are hardly likely to vote for Kennedy when they have a chance to vote for Goldwater.

Now consider the Democrats and independents who told Gallup they prefer Rockefeller to Goldwater. Isn't it likely that they, being liberals, would be even more likely to prefer Kennedy over Rockefeller? Kennedy will be the liberal candidate of a liberal party while Rockefeller would be the liberal candidate of a party dominated by conservatives.

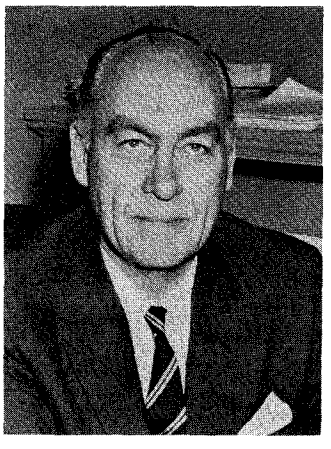
This kind of reasoning baffles Gallup, but it doesn't deter him from assuming the role of political mentor to the Republican party.

Therefore, since he presumes the authority to tell the GOP how it can be converted from a losing party to a winning party, he invites inspection of his qualifications.

GALLUP MADE HIMSELF a millionaire several times over by cashing in on the polling reputation he gained from his predictions of Roosevelt victories in the landslides of 1936, 1940 and 1944. Landslides, of course, are soft pickings. For proof, go back to 1920 when there were no pollsters. In that year, even the amateurs had no trouble prophesying a Harding landslide. The pre-Gallup landslides of 1924, 1928 and 1932 were likewise forecast by virtually every cross-country traveler who did much talking to "the man in the street."

The next three landslides—1936, 1940 and 1944—"made" Gallup; they were equally simple. Nevertheless, Gallup became so convinced of his own infallibility that when a close election came along in 1948, it never occurred to him that he could make a mistake.

He boldly asserted that Truman's chances were nil; that Dewey would be inaugurated on January 20, 1949.



GALLUP

ROCKEFELLER

GOLDWATER

WILLKIE

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The final Gallup poll of 1948 showed 49.5 per cent for Dewey, 44.5 per cent for Truman.

Election night reversed the Truman-Dewey percentages. Truman, not Dewey, got the 49.5 percentage. Dewey got 45.1 per cent.

Worse yet, Gallup predicted that Wallace's vote would be twice Thurmond's (4 per cent to 2 per cent). Thurmond double-crossed the pollster; he got more votes than Wallace (1,169,032 to 1,157,063). How badly can you err?

Figures Don't Lie, But . . .

Statisticians—Gallup claims to be one—can forgive mistakes; they make them themselves. But professionals do not forgive pronouncements which bring ridicule upon their calling by confirming the adage that "figures don't lie, but liars can figure."

The Gallup trick is to subtract the forecast percentage from the actual percentage vote, thus making the error seem infinitesimal. When Wallace got 2.4 per cent instead of the predicted 4 per cent, Gallup reported it as an error of 1.6 per cent. A scholar—which Gallup calls himself—would call that an error of 40 per cent.

A few of the other errors compiled by Jules Abels, author of the definitive book on the 1948 election, *Out of the Jaws of Victory,* are these:

- In 1944, Dr. Gallup made the massive mistake of underestimating the Democratic vote in each of 40 states. He underestimated Roosevelt's Electoral College total by one-third, or 140 votes.

- Four years later, Gallup gave 170 electoral votes to Dewey which actually went to Truman.

- In the popular vote, an error of 2 per cent may be critical in a toss-up state. Gallup in 1948 underestimated Truman's popular vote by 18 per cent in Massachusetts and 24 per cent in Minnesota—both considered swing states that year.

- "In the runaway 1952 race," says Abels, Gallup's last release said that Eisenhower and Stevenson were "coming down the homestretch in a tight race" and "he could not predict the result."

- Gallup indicated that Eisenhower's 1952 popular vote would be 51 per cent; he got 55.4 per cent. Gallup calls that a 4.4 per cent error. The proper designation is an 8.6 per cent error (4.4 divided by 51).

- Another of Gallup's "scientific" observations repeated year after year is that "a small vote turnout helps the Republicans; a big turnout helps the Democrats." Implication: The GOP is the party of the few, the Democrats are the party of the many.

The pollster wrote one of his many assertions of this nature just before the 1948 election—on October 5. A month later, Truman won—on the lowest percentage turnout in modern times. In 1952, Gallup was hooked on the other side of the wheel; Eisenhower won—on a very high turnout.

IF THERE IS ANY TRUTH to the Gallup thesis—that the larger the total vote, the better the Democratic chances—the 1960 election should have gone Democratic by the biggest landslide in history; the total turnout (69 million) broke all records. Instead, Nixon came within 113,000 votes of upsetting Kennedy. In fact, Nixon may have been the true victor, for there is good reason to believe that election frauds in Illinois and Texas provided Kennedy's margin of victory.

It is significant that throughout the United States, JFK's majorities were overwhelming—often 95 to 5—in the precincts where corruption was easiest.

Additional evidence contradicting the Gallup low vote versus high vote theory is that Nixon, in all probability, would have won if there had been another million turnout. The nation's mobile population of five to seven million was disenfranchised by the 1- and 2-year residency requirements that exist in nearly all states; these people consist in large part of junior executives, technicians and the better-paid skilled labor, who—as was proved by the absentee ballots in California—lean strongly toward the Republican party.

The states now are being asked to pass legislation or offer constitutional amendments allowing a vote for the Presidency to be cast by persons who have resided in a state for 90 days. Democratic legislatures—naturally—are hostile. If this provision was universally adopted, it is likely that the more conservative of the Presidential candidates would get a two-million majority in this voting classification.

ONE FINAL POINT: Dr. Gallup's propaganda that "a conservative can't win" may have been directly responsible for Nixon's three catastrophic decisions.

The first of those decisions was his pre-nomination Midnight Deal with the liberal Rockefeller. The second was his insistence upon the nomination for Vice President of the liberal Lodge. The third was his "I agree" responses during the first TV debate. Each of the three decisions was in compliance with Gallup's advice that the GOP must woo independents and Democrats by offering liberal programs. Each lost a carload of votes.

Dr. Gallup himself might have recognized the Great Gallup Fallacy if he had had a scientific eagerness to check the validity of his own theories.

All that was necessary was that after each of those three decisions, he order his polling canvassers to get out and talk with the privates and officers of the GOP combat divisions—the precinct chairmen and block captains who must ring doorbells. His reporters would have told him that each decision, instead of building up the fighting spirit of Republican workers, did the opposite. In fact, they began to wonder if the energy required on their part to help elect Dick Nixon would be worth the effort. Enough of the one million Republican volunteers needed said, "It isn't worth the effort," to cost the Republican nominee far more than 113,000 votes.

THE CLASSIC EXAMPLE of what happens to a disciple of Gallup was the experience of Wendell Willkie, who tried working the liberal side of the street without removing his Republican label. The period of Willkie's Gallup experiment was 1941 to 1944. He had lost the 1940 election, but now he was looking ahead to a second try in 1944.

If he had made an objective postmortem of his 1940 campaign, he might have arrived at the correct conclusions. Instead, hypnotized by the Gallup gospel, he wrecked his chances for a second try in 1944.

A sensible review of his 1940 campaign would have begun with his own recognition that he won the 1940 nomination by talking homespun Indiana conservatism. He might have won the election if he had remained true to that philosophy. However, his New York City intimates were Park Avenue liberals and Greenwich Village sophisticates. After their man had captured the nomination, they told him: "Now you must forget the Republicans: they have nowhere else to go. Tell the people you believe in the New Deal just as much as

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does FDR—but tell them you'll give it to them cheaper —and better." Willkie followed that advice to the letter.

With what consequence? During the 1940 election campaign, the first Gallup poll (before Willkie began pressing pro-New Deal utterances) gave Willkie a lead in the Electoral College. The margin disappeared when he made his first speech—his fatal "me-too" acceptance address from his birthplace of Elwood, Indiana. His electoral vote kept dropping with each succeeding "me-too" address.

In desperation, the ex-Hoosier reversed his attitude in the last couple of weeks, but then it was too late.

Now did Willkie learn anything from that experience of being a "Republican" wooing Democrats and independents? Did he return to the conservative doctrines with which he had caught public imagination in 1939 and early 1940? Not at all. He was still under the spell of the Gallup preachment that "the GOP must go liberal." His postmortem verdict was that 1940 voters were not fully convinced of the sincerity of his New Dealism. His decision was that if he were to win the Presidency in 1944 he would have to go the whole distance.

Willkie's Long Courtship

In line with that strategy, he spent the years 1941 to 1944 courting liberals and labor leaders. To accentuate his liberalism, he lost no opportunity to belittle the Republican leadership in Congress: Taft, Wherry, Brewster, Bridges, Dirksen, Buffett, Taber, Short. The Willkie chant was that those men were 14th Century reactionaries; the party would do better without them.

A classic description of the Willkie tactics was written by Eugene Lyons, who said: "The ex-Hoosier is courting the GOP like a man proposing marriage saying: Your hair is stringy, your're cross-eyed, you're bow-legged; you've got halitosis; a couple of your front teeth are missing. But I love you and I want to marry you."

Democratic columnists and commentators loved it. Wherever he went, Willkie was lionized at lavish liberal-sponsored cocktail parties, mink coats on the ladies being figuratively required for admission.

But the cold-blooded pros kept asking themselves: Where will all these liberals and laborites go if the GOP should nominate Willkie? For they knew that all these adoring fans were also FDR worshippers. If they had to choose, who would get their support? The ultra-liberal New York newspaper, *PM,* decided to find out, at least as far as labor leaders were concerned. It queried all of the heads of international unions as to their Presidential preferences. The revealing tabulation (February 20, 1944) follows:

	1st Choice	2nd Choice
Bricker	1	4
Dewey	7	5
Douglas	0	4
MacArthur	1	0
Roosevelt	75	2
Stassen	1	7
Taft	0	0
Wallace	3	25
Willkie	2	14

The first-choice selections told the story: 75 for FDR, 2 for Willkie. Even as a second choice, Willkie fell far behind Henry Wallace.

Conclusion: The Republicans, by nominating Willkie, would take very few votes away from the New Deal.

But even published facts like this did not sway Willkie. His conviction—resembling that of Rockefeller in early 1960—was that the Republican rank-and-file idolized him. He thought the only barrier standing between him and nomination by acclaim were the old-line GOP politicians.

Wisconsin the Key Test

To demonstrate beyond dispute that the masses overwhelmingly wanted him and nobody else, Willkie threw his hat into the Wisconsin primary. The 1940 nominee was sure that all the cards in the state of La Follette Progressivism were stacked in his favor.

First, Wisconsin's primary was "open." Democrats and independents could cast their votes for him without being challenged.

Second, nearly all of the major newspapers circulating in the state were in his corner. The traditionally Democratic Milwaukee *Journal*—with three times the circulation of any other daily in the state—was enthusiastically his. The La Follette organ, *The Madison Capital Times,* pleaded with its readers, regardless of party, to go into the Republican primary and vote for Willkie. Three Chicago dailies—the *Daily News,* the *Sun* and the *Times*—favored his candidacy. The opposition press consisted of the Chicago *Tribune*, two feeble Hearst papers, the Chicago *American* and the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, and several small-city Wisconsin dailies.

On top of these advantages, Willkie had no on-the-ground opposition. Dewey, when he was elected New York Governor in 1942, had promised to serve out his term which would not end until 1946; he insisted he was not a candidate for the Presidency and he "repudiated" the Dewey state delegates.

The other two names on the ballot were Douglas MacArthur and Harold Stassen, each far out in the Pacific fighting a war.

So Willkie had the state to himself. But "the barefoot boy from Wall Street"—Ickes' description—did not end up decisively first as he had confidently expected. He landed hopelessly in the cellar. He was, in fact, such a bad fourth that when he read the returns, he abruptly announced withdrawal from the race.

A few weeks later, Willkie died—some say of a broken heart. The "masses" had double-crossed "the Man Who Loved Them So Much." What most disturbed Willkie, he told intimates, was the failure of the Democrats and independents to vote for him when such a demonstration of their demand for his candidacy was so easily possible. Their indifference was the killing blow.

THOSE LIKE DR. GALLUP and Wendell Willkie who think the GOP can win only by "going liberal" fail to understand the structural differences between the two parties.

The New Deal-New Frontier liberals offer "free" Federal money to all solid-vote "gimme" blocs. Whatever Republican candidates might bid, the New Frontier candidates will unhesitatingly outbid.

Another important difference: Outside the Solid South, the New Frontier gets its majorities almost exclusively from the big cities. Its supporters are the easily-regimented types. In states that permit it, the unions bring the registration booths to the factory gates and require their members to register. Checking the voting lists afterward, they fine and even expel members who fail to vote. Union members with any sense of discretion do not openly oppose union-sponsored causes and can-

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NIXON

KENNEDY

didates. Non-conformists are considered traitors to the labor movement and get the punishment reserved for traitors. "Freedom," by union definition, is the freedom only to follow union dictation—not to oppose it.

To get out the Democratic vote, the party has a ready-made, amply-financed organization. The unions have large numbers of full-time, well-paid officials devoting all their year-round energies to politics—local, state, national.

Every precinct is blueprinted. Every household whose occupants will vote for union-dictated candidates is card-indexed. On schedule, the massive labor machine goes into action. One million shop stewards and local union officials get their orders.

That's the picture of the philosophy and organizational tactics of the Democratic party in the North; increasingly the New Frontier is making over the Southern Democratic party in that image. Throughout the South, control is passing to the liberals as conservatives flee from what they see coming.

Southern Realignment Begins

In Texas already, the flight has taken place. The sensationally-successful Texas "Resignation Rallies" may speed up the realignment in liberal-dominated Southern states.

To sum up, the Democratic party can depend upon union-financed regimentation and the desire for "free" Federal money to get out its full vote. But what about the Republicans?

IF THE REPUBLICANS are to win the marginal or swing vote—people without deep political emotions, yet Republican-inclined if brought to the polls—the party must have the activity of a huge army of doorbell ringers.

One or two million volunteers must, of their own volition, go to the precinct and county headquarters of the GOP and enroll for house-to-house canvassing if the groundwork is to be laid for party success.

A substantial proportion of those volunteers must dare the wrath of their superiors. In this Big Business era, job advancement gravitates to "noncontroversial" junior executives whose outside activities consist of becoming a captain or colonel in the United Givers Fund campaign, or leading the Red Cross drive, or heading a Chamber of Commerce committee going to Washington to demand Federal aid for the local sewage plant.

Being able to win the "friendship" of local union leaders is often a prime requisite for corporate promotion. The easy way to win labor's "approval" is NEVER to back conservative candidates for office. Still better: Be one of a hundred signers of a newspaper advertisement backing a liberal candidate. The union press applauds such "broadmindedness," and the company board of directors will likely say: "There's a man who can get along with our unions. We need that kind of executive."

Such opportunities must be sacrificed by the unpaid, self-directed volunteers needed by the GOP. But these men and women will not come forth if the Republican party offers nothing different than the Democratic party.

Imitators Don't Win Elections

As a pale carbon copy, the GOP will never be a constructive alternative to the Democratic party. It will serve no purpose—except as a vehicle for protest. In that role, it can win elections once in a generation—about as often as the Republicans carry New York City.

It was not as a carbon copy party that the Texas Tower miracle was performed, nor the procession of conservative gains shown by every by-election since the 1960 Presidental election—a record almost without parallel.

The Tower task force consisted largely of married couples, usually under 40, very few over 50, and nearly all in the middle-income bracket. The Fat Cats ran away from Tower. They were afraid to antagonize Mr. Sam and LBJ, who had warned them not to come asking for protection against New Frontier reprisals if Texas went Republican.

The Tower volunteers had no interest whatever in government jobs; they could not conceive of any monetary reward for their efforts. They were fearful of the continuous growth of the Federal government and the increasing centralized controls of the local agencies of government. They were imbued with the determination to preserve freedom for their children.

Result: They electrified the USA. They demonstrated that the instinct for freedom among millions of Americans is so strong that notwithstanding the theoretical invincibility of the liberal-labor tactical forces, conservatives can and do win.

Now for the vital question: Would the Republican party really have a better chance to win the White House in 1964 if it accepted the Gallup claim that "Rockefeller would have more appeal to Democrats and independents than would the conservative Goldwater?"

Let common sense provide the answer.

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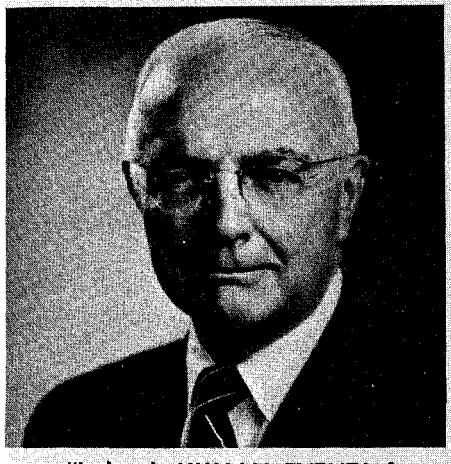

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